1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

but to put into practice the principle of 'eliminating step by step the exploitation system and establishing a socialist society' as stipulated in the new Constitution."[10] 871

In short, the Communist basic policy of education has been to remove gradually all influences other than those stemming from socialism. In practice, the Communists have attempted to train all levels of personnel required for a complete socialist remolding of China.

B. Changes in Curricula

Curricular "reform" was among the first actions undertaken by the Communists in the field of education. Even before their consolidation of power (at a time when a thorough renovation of the educational system was administratively impossible) the Communist instituted changes in the curricula wherever their troops had seized control. As early as September 1949, Communist authorities announced the "Temporary Regulations of Curricular Reform in the Departments of the Colleges of Arts and of Law in the Institutions of Higher Learning in North China." The principal features of this "reform" were (1) the substitution of Marxism and Leninism for the Three People's Principles, 876

10. People's Education, October 1954, p. 13.

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(2) abolishment of the course on traditional law and, before new laws were promulgated, the addition of studies on socialist theories of jurisprudence. This action was aimed at institutions of higher learning; reform of curricula for lower level schools was not much publicized.

The same subject was the central theme for the All-China Higher Education Conference of June 1-9, 1950. By that time the movement to reform curricula had reached its second stage. Out of this conference emerged "Decisions Concerning the Enforcement of Curricula-reform in the Institutions of Higher Learning." The main point of this directive was that, "Institutions of higher learning must ... abolish the politically reactionary courses, install revolutionary political courses of New Democracy.... The curriculum of all departments must practice the principles of proper specialization ..., must install and strengthen necessary and important courses and omit those overlapping and unimportant courses and materials, in accordance with the principle of intensification and simplification.[11]

Following this conference, major changes in college curricula were carried out. Similar measures were also adopted for secondary and primary schools by modifying the courses and

11. Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly], Vol. II, No. 5, September 1950, p. 1,134.

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altering the subject-content. In January 1951, the Communist Ministry of Education moved to check on the results of curricular "reform" by holding a "Conference on Inspection of Teaching Plans for the Academic Year 1950 of All Institutions of Higher Learning." Again, similar actions were taken for schools on the lower level. After September 1951, official efforts were mainly devoted to "thought reform" and the inspection of course material and teaching methods to insure that the reform measures were truly carried out in the Communist spirit. These efforts have not lessened in the past five years.

Besides changing the materials for courses on political and economic theory, the curricular "reform" also has the mission of dovetailing the schools on different levels and seeing that their doors are open to Party and other professional cadres who have not had the opportunity of a formal education.

One important development closely related to curricular "reform" is the thorough re-examination of all textual materials. The central authorities responsible for education, through their subordinate agencies on provincial and municipal levels, supervised the revision of all textbooks, particularly those in the field of the social sciences, before releasing them to the schools. That the revised books are politically slanted is obvious, but their technical quality can not be judged without a detailed comparative study of many such books against the original versions and against similar books accepted as standard

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works in non-Communist countries.[12] 876

C. Changes in Organization

Before 1949, as the Communist Army assumed control of a city or a town, a military delegate was assigned to each school to supervise its administration. 871 656 The changes the Communists brought to the schools at that time were imposed unsystematically and arbitrarily. Even after the establishment of the Peking regime, the measures designed to revise the educational system and school organization remained haphazard. Following the outbreak of the Korean war in 1950, the main activity of the Communist Ministry of Education, as far as reorganization of the schools was concerned, appeared to be the seizure of private schools and other schools sponsored by religious groups and foreign missions.[13] The first systematic reorganization was occasioned by the issuance of a Government Administration Council directive, "Decisions Concerning the Reform of the Educational System," on October 1, 1951. The People's Daily of Peking, central organ of the Communist Party, and People's Education both

12. Wu-nien-lai Ti Kung-fei Chiao-yü [Communist Education in the Last Five Years], Sixth Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1955, Vol. II, pp. 14-15. A total of 6,360 schools were said to have been seized by the Communist.

13. For more information on revision and publication of textbooks in Communist China, see the chapters on "Public Information and Propaganda," and "Artistic and Intellectual Expressions." Also see Chu Po-ch'i, Chung-kung Ti Hsüeh-hsiao Chiao-yü [Formal Education in Communist China], Hong Kong, Ya-chou ch'u-pan-she, 1954, pp. 218-27.

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for the Communist Party, Party branches on all levels are actually the authorities for interpretation of official policy and have the final decision on how a school should be run. Evidence shows that some schools report every important question to the local Party secretary before taking any action.[20] Close-range Party supervision, together with the assignment of well trained veteran cadres to key positions on the administrative staff of the school, serve to maintain the Communists' control over the educational system.

III. MAJOR MOVEMENTS LAUNCHED BY COMMUNIST IN EDUCATION

A. "Thought Reform"

To effect an ideological revolution among the educators and students is an essential step in the Communist plan to "Sovietize" completely the educational system in China. Since 1949, every major measure adopted by the Peking regime in the cultural and educational fields involves, either implicitly or explicitly, an effort to remold the thought of the people concerned. However, an organized drive to change the way of thinking of the educators and students did not start until Premier Chou En-lai delivered his speech on September 29, 1951. He urged the educators to abandon their attitude of "study for study's sake" or "art for art's sake"

20. People's Education, December 1954, p. 30.

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and to step down from their professorial pedestals to serve the masses. He exhorted the students to forget about personal profit and to identify their ambitions with the national interest. 876

This movement spread rapidly. Criticism and self-criticism were encouraged. "Petit bourgeois sentimentalism," "capitalistic romanticism," "feudalistic individualism," and a host of other "undesirable" attitudes were subject to relentless attack. During subsequent months the Communist press was crowded with signed confessions of past ideological errors. This is the mainstay of the Communist program to revamp education, but it is admittedly a most trying task, which requires a long-range plan and sustained effort for its achievement.

Although practically every college professor in China has published his self-criticism (some of them have done so several times) and every student has been through at least one "thought struggle," the movement continues unabated. The Ministry of Education in announcing the tasks for 1954 again pointed out the need for continued vigilance against the "remnant of feudalistic thought."[21] The State Council in directing secondary schools to improve their courses stressed the importance of strengthening socialist thought.[22] The latest revival of this issue occurred when the philosophy and works of Hu Shih, Yü P'ing-po, and Hu Feng became the

21. People's Education, March 1954, p. 22.
22. Ibid., July 1954, p. 16.

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subject of a purge.[23] (See chapter on Artistic and Intellectual Expression in this handbook.) 876

B. Labor-education Movement

The labor-education movement is designed to inculcate a respect for labor in the minds of intellectuals and youth, and is not to be confused with "Reform-through-labor" discussed in the chapter on Forced Labor.

Beginning with the kindergarten, the Communists teach students to respect the "fruits of labor," to care for school property, and to aid their parents by doing chores at home. Grade school children are taught manual work, partly as physical exercise and partly as a means to cultivate respect for labor. Older students are urged to prepare themselves for work on the farm or in the factory. Such a preparation, the Communists say, is the "most glorious" assignment which can be offered "new China's" youth. Students in advanced schools are reminded of their duty to accept government assignments regardless of the working conditions involved. The main purpose of the labor-education movement is to prepare students for work upon the completion of any level of education.

"Study is the only task worth undertaking, and all other professions are beneath it" is a traditional Chinese expression which upholds the high social

23. People's Education, May 1955, p. 5.

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status of the educated. This has become a target of Communist attack, and the fight to change the minds of the people is still surging.[24] 876

C. Physical Education Movement

Although a specific commission has been established to promote physical education (see Chart 3), the State Council and the two ministries of education have been seriously concerned with the health of students. This concern originates from Mao Tse-tung's instructions to promote "good health, good study, and good work." As early as April 1951, Tung Ch'un-ts'ai, Vice-Minister of Education, called the attention of the nation's educators to the importance of guarding the health of students. Tung's declaration was affirmed by other officials in responsible positions during subsequent years, but apparently the situation was not much improved. The students remained in financial straits while the pressure of intensified courses was increased. The Ministry of Higher Education, the Ministry of Health, and the Commission on Physical Education issued in July 1954 a joint directive reiterating an earlier announcement by the Government Administration Council on "Decisions on Improving the Health of Students in Schools at All Levels."[25] However, it is obvious that 871 744

24. See Communist official directives on "labor-education," ibid., June 1954, p. 7; May 1954, p. 7.
25. People's Education, August 1954, p. 65.

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As the Communist Army occupied North China after World War II, the North China University and the North China People's Revolutionary University were established for cadre training. After 1949, the Chinese People's University emerged in Peking, with 30 per cent of its curriculum devoted to political education and 70 per cent to the specific fields in which the cadre students were specializing. 873

In 1950, a Communist survey asserted that about 765,000 workers and over 25,000,000 peasants were enrolled in night schools, "winter schools," and other classes during their spare-time.[61] In the same year in Central-South China 26,400 people in Wuhan and over 4,000 in Pao-feng hsien in Honan Province participated in similar educational activities. In Shan hsien, Honan Province, 32 reading classes for women were in operation in 1954 as a part of the illiteracy-elimination program.[62] Similar classes were formed for soldiers. The much publicized "accelerated course" invented by Ch'i Chien-hua, a cultural cadre attached to the army, to teach the Chinese written language, was first tried and pronounced successful. In the Central-South China Region, several "cultural cadres" assigned to army units followed a system which would enable them to write Chinese characters at a speed never attained before.[63] 876

61. People's Education, January 1953, p. 16.

62. Compendium of Government Reports, 1950, p. 829.

63. People's Education, May 1952, p. 4; July 1952, pp. 9-13. These methods of learning the Chinese language are discussed in the chapter on Language. Also see photograph on the inside of the cover of People's Education, Dec. 1951, depicting a reading class for the militia.

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College and the Kwangsi Minority National College, most of the primary schools included in Communist statistics are presumably poorly equipped and operated on an irregular schedule. 871 563

V. SOME OBSERVATIONS

A. The Character of the Communist Education

Two significant characteristics of the Communist educational system are the degree of specialization found in the school system and the centralization of control over the content of the subjects taught in the schools. The measures so far adopted by the Communists in reorganizing the schools, with emphasis on the development of technical institutions, are measures of expediency in view of the urgency of economic reconstruction as outlined in the first Five-year Plan. The centralization of control begins with the indoctrination of the teachers and rigid supervision of the publication of textbooks. Every teacher is told what to say and how to say it. To be sure the Communists have yet to achieve complete uniformity in education, but all possible efforts are made to guard against deviation. 871

B. Ideological Orientation and Its Effect on the People's Attitudes

The ideological orientation of the Communist educational system can be readily seen from the basic policies and the major movements instituted in Chinese education during the past five years. Through "education" the Communists expect to teach 876 191

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the Chinese people to hate "American imperialism" and to respect the Soviet Union as "the leader in the revolutionary bloc of nations." The social sciences taught in schools are oriented on the basis of Russian socialism "because China must learn from the Russian revolutionary experiences." In technical courses Russian technique is singled out as "advanced experience". Hostility toward all non-Communist traditions and ideals is stressed throughout the country. Any person, Chinese or foreign, who is not sympathetic toward Communism is assumed to be either an actual or a potential enemy, and is to be treated as such.

There is a lack of subtlety in the Chinese Communists' attempt to reconcile their theory of patriotism with their pro-Russian propaganda line. When they directed the teachers to abandon the use of English except in foreign language classes, they defended this by saying that Russia would be taught in certain schools in order to expedite the process of translating certain Russian works into Chinese, but that even this practice would be terminated as soon as the goal was attained.[72] But they failed to specify the time when such practices would cease. Since learning a foreign language is no easy matter, such a substitution of Russian for English has been a controversial point and may remain an unresolved issue of the Communist ideological orientation in education.

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72. People's Education, February 1952, p. 7.